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To him a man was always a man and did not disappear in a dense crowd any more than in a desert. He honoured all men; that is, he not only loved but respected them all. . . . No plans or proposals or efficient rearrangements will give back to a broken man his self-respect and sense of speaking with an equal. One gesture will do it. With that gesture Francis of Assisi moved among men.

Gilbert K. Chesterton

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ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI
REFLECTIONS OF A SOCIAL WORKER

MARY WILLCOX GLENN
President, American Association for Organizing Family Social Work

ITALY will observe October fourth of this year as a national holiday in commemoration of the death of Francis of Assisi in 1226 at the Portiuncular in the environs of his native town. Seven hundred years have passed since that day; but the story of his life is so suggestive that modern painters and poets, playwrights and essayists, as well as students of the mediaeval mind and of varieties of religious experience, turn to the Franciscan records in order that new aspects of the significance of the Saint's career may be revealed.

The apt quotation from Shelley with which Henry Dwight Sedgwick heads the chapter on St. Francis in his *Italy in the 13th Century* offers a reason for such persistent interest:

> In his lightness
> Most like some radiant cloud of morning dew,
> Which wanders through the waste air's pathless blue,
> To nourish some far desert.

Our Sir Charles S. Loch said of St. Francis[1] that he sought reality in life and was thereby enabled to revive charity itself.

We who endeavor through the social case work process to find the real in the lives with which we as workers are concerned, might more effectively help in the cultivation of our social desert if we too turned, in this 20th Century, to study the life of St. Francis; if we found through reflection on his writings and on the incidents recorded in the early Franciscan chronicles the source of his contribution to the charity of the ages.

Account is given in the *Little Flowers of St. Francis* of how, shortly after his conversion, Francis traveled through the March of Ancona with Brother Giles, the third of his Assisi associates to become a companion. They sang, as they walked, "Glorious praises of the Lord of Heaven and Earth," and Saint Francis, albeit he "did not yet preach publicly to the people," would admonish and correct "the men-folk and the women-folk, saying lovingly to them these simple words: 'Love and fear God, and do fit penance for your sins,' and Brother Giles would say: 'Do what this, my spiritual Father would say unto you, for he speaketh right well.'"

The early followers, whose accounts of the acts and words of the founder were em-

[1] *Charity and Charities,* Encyclopedia Britannica.

bodied by later Franciscans in the *Mirror of Perfection*[1] and in the *Little Flowers,* dwelt but sparingly on Francis' reaching large groups of people as a preacher. They revealed rather a man who, though gifted as a speaker, was alert to give particular personal care to each person. An infirm old woman, the Lady Jaquiline of Settisoti, or the Soldan of Babylon; a robber, a leper, or the pope; a laboring man or a knight; a tailor or a high bailiff; each is greeted and given loving consideration as a fellow being.

The simplicity which characterized Francis' relations with his companions in the early days of the Franciscan movement is maintained when the companionship numbered thousands. He was as easy of access, as free from consciousness of personal importance in the period of wide renown as when he roamed, a joyous youth, amongst gay comrades through the streets of Assisi and the country nearby. There is no break between the boy and the man. His conversion and the two years of suffering which followed did not rob him of the qualities which belonged to the high-spirited, generous youth. Lawrence Housman, in the *Little Plays of St. Francis,* has shown Francis to have been unwilling to succeed in sport at the expense of fellow contestants and to have been a mediator when rivalry aroused antagonism. In Perugia, imprisoned for bearing arms against Assisi's enemy town, he refused to use the ransom sent for his liberation but gave it for the release of a friend who also lay in prison. St. Bonaventura wrote that "he went not astray among the wanton youths after the lusts of the flesh, albeit given up unto pleasures." Testimony to the purity of his early life lies in the fact that in later years there was no reaction nor need of reaction against any youthful dissoluteness.[2]

[1] The edition of the *Little Flowers of St. Francis* used is the translation of T. W. Arnold (I. M. Dent, London). The edition of the *Mirror of Perfection* is the translation of Sebastian Evans, with introduction by Father Cuthbert, O.S.F.C. (Burns and Oates Ltd., London). The verses of the *Canticle of the Law* quoted are translated by F. C. Burkitt, Cambridge University, as published in his article on Saint Francis of Assisi, Outline of Christianity, Volume II (Dodd, Mead and Co., Distributors). The *Life of Saint Francis* by Saint Bonaventura, from which quotation is made, is also published by I. M. Dent. The quotations from St. Francis whose origin is not noted in the text are citations from modern biographies.

He read "the wishes of others from their eyes," a recent biographer[3] has said. Vivid is the picture his companions left of the leader who unerringly realized what others were suffering and who took upon himself to experience pain others must needs endure. He assumed the beggar's garb, subjecting himself to the contumely to which the beggar was subjected. He touched the leper's hand, ate from his dish, entered the lazar house. Literally, not figuratively, he put himself in another's place.

His intense personal caring for each one with whom he came in contact made him ardently desire that each should come to possess that which he himself had learned to know was the only treasure worth the holding. Release from bondage to the world, freedom to follow the true way of life: these were positive goods. A mere rehabilitating of a man, bringing him to where he formerly had been, would have been to him a negative effort, the loss of an opportunity to render genuine help. The possibility of spiritual growth was, he knew, latent in every man.

The story of the three "notorious" robbers, who had "wrought much evil," as told in the *Little Flowers,* illustrates his method of reaching people. The tale is too long to give in full; but, to begin in the middle, when the young brother, who had in indignation driven the robbers from the door of the brethren's house to which they came to beg alms, was sent by St. Francis "incontinent" to fetch them back, he was given a wallet of bread, and a flask of wine to take to them and was directed to search diligently for them over mountain and valley. The admonition was that "sinners are brought back to God better by gentleness than by cruel reproof." When the robbers were returned, St. Francis dealt "lovingly with them and in kindly fashion, comforted them with many examples: and making them assured of the mercy of God." The "admonishments" led them to renounce "the devil and all his works." They were then admitted into the order.

In the version of the story given in the *Mirror of Perfection,* it is said: "By

[2] *The Mediaeval Mind:* Henry Osborn Taylor, Vol. I, p. 436, Macmillan, N. Y.

[3] *The Ideals of St. Francis of Assisi:* Hilaire Felder, O. M. Cap, p. 252 (Benziger Bros.).

reason of the humility and familiarity of the brethren toward them, they (the robbers) did begin humbly to serve the brethren themselves, bearing wood on their shoulders as far as the hermitage" in which the brethren were living; promising that "they would thereafter live of the labour of their hands and never be guilty of the like [highway robbery] again."

The method, to use the wording of a fifth century collect, was to show "them that were in error the light of truth," a method fundamentally different from that of showing them the error of their ways. St. Francis was, moreover, wholly social in his relationships and free from sentimentality. He recognized the importance of discovering what were the innate influences that tended to determine action. The *Mirror of Perfection* gives St. Francis' answer to the companion who asked what qualities were needful to the man fitted to be the head of the Franciscans.

"Specially needful is it that he be able to detect the secrets of conscience and to search out the truth from hidden sources. All accusations at the outset let him hold suspect until the truth by diligent examination doth begin to appear. But let him not lend ear to babblers . . . nor of excess of mildness let lukewarmness be born. . . ." It is stated in the *Little Flowers* that St. Francis knew "all the merits and the virtues of his companions and in like manner their faults also. For the which cause he knew how to provide the best remedy for each. . . ." His feet were, therefore, firmly on the ground of intimate, individual relation with his fellows. The clarity of his motive, its singleness of intention, enabled him to interpret the actions of others in the light of his own acts. Furthermore, for him *mine* and *thine* were ever interchangeable terms.

His inherent disposition to share possessions without reservation would seem to explain the stand taken toward his father. Peter Bernadone, the rich merchant with social aspirations, had gloated over his gay spendthrift son's use of his, the father's, wealth, when that wealth was spent lavishly in company with the sons of other prominent citizens. When, however, with equal liberality, with a similar freedom, the merchant's money was employed to restore a dilapidated church on the outskirts of Assisi and to relieve the poor, the father took steps to disinherit the son. The decision Francis made in the face of his father's step, to hold Peter Bernadone no longer as his father but, as St. Bonaventura puts it, to say in future confidently, "our Father which art in heaven with whom I have laid up my whole treasure and on whom I have set my whole trust and hope," is stamped with a logic that is peculiarly his own. Francis the boy, Francis the man, gave himself wholly in the gift; and took from others in like spirit as he gave.

To share experience, to be the first to undertake a difficult or a menial task ever characterized his relations with his companions. He was alert, too, to shift praise from himself to another, as, for instance, when he refuted his companions' assertion that he was "the holiest soul God hath in the world." He pointed, in negation, to Brother Ruffino as being "one of the three most holy souls in all the world." But, as the *Little Flowers* relate, "these words Saint Francis never spake in the presence of the said Brother Ruffino."

He evinced solicitude for such as suffered unduly from the rigors of the companionship. His courtesy, furthermore, made him protect the sensibilities of a brother who might appear to lack the grace of endurance. The *Mirror of Perfection* brings St. Francis especially close to the modern world through the story of the sick brother who needed for health's sake to partake of fruit. "And that brother would eat ripe grapes the first thing in the morning I do believe it would do him good," said St. Francis to himself. He secretly led him to a certain vineyard and nigh the vine he sat beside him early lest the brother should be ashamed to eat alone.

He was eager for each man to develop his special bent and to enlist in the companionship none but those who could joyously follow its teaching. A brother who showed unfitness for the vocation was encouraged to withdraw. "A certain brother," there was, according to the *Mirror of Perfection*, who "did hardly pray at all, and never did any work and would not go forth for alms, but he did eat bravely." He was advised: "Go

thy ways, brother fly, forasmuch as thou art minded to devour the labour of thy brethren and to be slothful in the work of God, even as the idle drone and barren that winneth nought nor laboureth but devoureth the winning and the travail of the good bees."

II

The type of man to be a companion, St. Francis describes (as recorded in the *Mirror of Perfection*) as follows: "One ought he to be that accepteth the person of none, so that no less heed shall he pay to the simple and foolish than to the knowing and wise." In practice, the loyal Franciscan drew no class distinctions. The story of the visit of St. Louis of France to Brother Giles (as told in the *Little Flowers*) illustrates how absolutely simple was the reception of every guest. A similar freedom from class discrimination marked his attitude towards all novices. Bernard of Assisi, "of the noblest, and richest, and wisest in the city," two distinguished scholars of Bologna, the three notorious robbers, and the young vendor of turtle doves were admitted with a like fervor.

Students of the Franciscan movement have emphasized the fact that Francis was the great friend of the common people. What is true of him is that he was friend and brother to every man. Like a normal child he was unaware of difference of status. In his contacts with all sorts of men, no seed of division was ever sown. No appeal was ever made in the name of a class. Friend was he, morever, not alone to fellow citizens, but to citizens of rival towns—as truly the peacemaker for the one group as for the other. He ended feuds which had held apart man and man, lords and people, church dignitaries and civil authorities, town and town.

His method of approach was simple, direct. He created confidence in the integrity of his intentions. Whether the story of the wolf of Gubbio be accepted as literal or figurative, whether the conversions were of the tyrant of Gubbio, or of a furious outlaw, or of the wolf of the *Little Flowers,* the lesson carried has a similar pertinence. "Brother Wolf," said St. Francis when he came face to face with "the terrible and fierce animal" which had terrorized a country side, "much harm hast thou wrought in these parts . . . but I would fain, brother wolf, make peace between thee and these: [the citizens of Agobio] so that thou mayest no more offend them and they may forgive thee all thy past offences, and nor men nor dogs pursue thee any more." When through his artless art he had aroused in Brother Wolf the attitude of response, he called on the people who had been outraged to promise assistance so that their former enemy might live at peace in their midst. "The folk with one accord" did promise to give the repentent wolf "food abidingly." The tale asserts that he was "courteously nourished" by the people until his death two years later.

St. Francis showed like adroitness in his handling of the tense situation which had come to pass as a result of dissension "betwixt the Bishop and the High Bailiff of the City of Assisi," for "the Bishop did excommunicate the High Bailiff, and the High Bailiff made be proclaimed that none should sell aught to the Bishop nor buy anything of him nor enter into any contract whatsoever with him." The outcome of Francis' intervention, as related in the *Mirror of Perfection,* was that "with great kindness and love did they embrace and kiss the one the other." But let it be noted that first they had sung together wholeheartedly the verse he had composed for the touching of their hearts:

Be praised, my Lord, through those who for thy love forgive
Contented, unavenged in quiet to live.

In his relation to St. Clare, St. Francis evinced a consideration for her as a human being which was in no way distinguished from what his attitude would have been if she had been a man. She was fellow companion from the time she, a girl of nineteen, came to him to be set apart until in his last words in behalf of her and the sisters he supplicated the brothers to remember that they were members of one religious family. In the *Little Flowers,* one is told of her coming with one of her companions from St. Damian to St. Mary of the Angels to break bread with Francis and of how they took along with the brethren "each his place at the table with all humility"; also, of Francis' seeking council of Clare through Brother Masseo, invoking her spiritual help at a time when Francis was perplexed as to

whether he should give himself "to preaching or wholly unto prayer."

He showed his thoughtfulness and affection, as the *Mirror of Perfection* says, by his making "certain holy words with music for the comforting and edification of the Poor Ladies." His appreciation of the contribution of the Poor Clares was expressed by his statement that their holy conversation was beneficial not only to the brethren but to the whole church. His care for the integrity of their order was shown by his heartfelt desire that they should be as free as he strove for his companionship to be from the imposition of rules. The picture drawn by Jacques de Vitry of the Poor Clares in a private letter to friends, written in 1216, describes their uncloistered life, as they and St. Francis wished that it should be lived. "The women lodge together near the towns, they accept nothing but live by manual work, and they are much grieved and vexed at being honored by clergy and laity more than they wish." [1]

III

Bertrand Russell's statement, that preoccupation with possessions more than anything else prevents men from living freely and nobly, might have been made by Francis himself. The reported conversation between the Bishop of Assisi and Francis serves to illustrate Bertrand Russell's text:

"Life seems hard and rough," the Bishop had said in confuting the Franciscan position in regard to poverty.

"My Lord, if we had any possessions, we should need weapons for our defense. For from possessions come contentions and law suits and by that in many ways the love of God and of our neighbor is hindered."

He clearly visualized the road along which the possessor of goods tended to travel. To the novice who, as the *Mirror of Perfection* states, begged for possession of a psalter, he gave answer: "After that thou shalt have had the psalter thou wilt be covetous and desire to have a breviary also. And after thou hast gotten a breviary thou wilt sit in a chair like a great prelate and wilt say unto thy brother, 'Fetch me the breviary!'"

He saw that the world about him was debased by luxury. He realized how men trusted in their own powers. For him the way of freedom lay in renunciation of material things, in reliance on God alone. He was confident that through begging he and his companions could get day by day sufficient for their needs. The secular clerics and monks "live on ample and large alms," he said, "offered and invested in the form of endowments while the mendicants content themselves with the daily and poor offerings of charity."

Fear of money, dependence on alms, labor freely offered were complementary attributes of the Franciscans. "Let them that know nothing learn to work," Francis is reported by the *Mirror of Perfection* to have said. In his Testament he asserted: "I worked with my hands and I wish to work, and I wish firmly that all the other brothers should work at some labor which is compatible with honesty."

Reliant as happy children, on Providence, with the joviality of the care-free, the early Franciscans went in and out of homes, turning people's minds towards spiritual things, away from worldly preoccupations. Both the arrogant and the servile were brought into daily contact with men who, whether at work or at prayer, meant to be taken literally when they declared, as the *Mirror of Perfection* reports their beloved leader to have said: "As for me, I am fain to have this privilege of the Lord, that never may I have any privilege from man, save only the privilege to do reverence unto all, and to convert mankind through obedience to our holy Rule rather by ensample than by word."

IV

"Lord," Francis is reported by St. Bonaventura to have said to the Bishop of Ostia, "my brethren be called minors with this very intent that they may not arrogate unto themselves to be called greater." He wished that they should rise through no preferment, nor should "look kindly upon honors"; even while they, as well as he himself, should remain "loyal lieges to the prelates and clergy of Holy Mother Church."

Never was there rebellion in his heart. He did not think in terms of reform. He went, unimpeded, straight to his goal to

[1] As quoted by F. C. Burkitt, *Outline of Christianity*, Vol. II, p. 325.

bring men into close communion with God. He opened men's eyes, without a visible rending asunder of the veil of obscurantism, so that they saw Christ's Church triumphant—triumphant through a return to primitive simplicity.

Love of one another, love and observance of Lady Poverty, knightly loyalty to Mother Church: these were the rules that bound the brethren into a genuine fraternity. Their test of fidelity lay in their power to draw others along with them. Freedom from reliance on favors, while accepting the principle of authority; detachment from goods while making no overt attack on property gave them invincible strength. These attitudes of mind, which determined the early Franciscan's relation to his world and his actions as an individual and as a member of a corporate body, were in themselves revolutionary.

V

Immunity from preoccupation with things gave the Franciscan a chance to enjoy life itself and put him on terms of easy familiarity with any man. Francis and his early followers were intensely social beings. They made *charity* and *social* interchangeable terms. The establishment of the brethren in a neighborhood was a social event. They became an active part of the place in which they settled. The third order was founded in recognition of the right of men and women, whose responsibilities lay in the home, to become associated with the companionship. Francis' counsel to such was, as the *Little Flowers* puts it, "to make not ill haste nor leave your homes." Matthew Arnold said that Francis fitted religion for popular use. He did bring religion out of the cloister onto the hearth; but there was no process of emasculation for the sake of popularization. Rather, he opened men's eyes to see the beauty of a disciplined life, and joyfully to make God's purpose their own.

Joy in living—a sense of kinship with nature; with lark and bee, hare and fish, tree and rock and herb, fire and water, snow and moon—was at the core of his being as a child of God. It found expression in acts of tenderest solicitude as well as in songs of "joyous exulting" whereby he gave utterance to "the passing sweet melody of the spirit within him." *The Mirror of Perfection* tells of his speaking to one of the companions of "the healthy joyance" of the soul, and adds that "by cheerfulness of countenance . . . he did understand the fervency and solicitude and disposition and preparation of mind and body to do all good work with a good will." He specially loved in the brethren that they "should maintain both inwardly and outwardly a spiritual cheerfulness." "For what be the servants of God but certain minstrels of His that do lift up the hearts of men and move them to spiritual gladness."

He not only continuously saw life as worth the living; but he saw it ever in relation to God Himself, and to the eternity of which the time spent in this world was but a fragment. So with the buoyancy of a sanguine and trustful child he could blithely sing at the end of his days:

Be praised, my Lord, through our sister bodily Death,
From whom none can escape that have drawn breath.
"Woe to those dying in mortal sin!" He saith,
Blest those who keep thy holy will in faith,
To them the second Death will bring no scathe.

VI

"He had no mind to hide from men what was manifest to God," is said of Francis in the chapter of the *Mirror of Perfection* which has the caption, "How he would that any comforts he received for his body should be known to all." The simple statement serves to bring him, the humble man of heart, near to us. Beneath the honorable cloak of humility, we see the fervent lover in whom was no conflict of desires, the chivalrous knight whose loyalty was undivided, the troubadour who had but one allegiance, the mystic—true realist—who saw God in all created things.

Be praised, my Lord, with all Thy works whate'er they be,
And through our noble Brother Sun especially,
Whose brightness makes the light by which we see,
And he is fair and radiant, splendid and free,
A likeness and a type, most high, of Thee.

RELATION OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND THE DEVELOPMENT AND ADMINISTRATION OF SOCIAL WORK[1]

ROWLAND C. HAYNES
Director, Cleveland Welfare Federation

I SHOULD like first to discuss with you the meaning of social research, of scientific research. I was amused at the first word in the *Century Dictionary* definition of research: "laborious search after facts and principles." It reminds me of the topics of various college theses which seemed to have only that one characteristic—they were laborious and that was all. There was little thought of the value of the facts secured, of their relations, or of the principles implied.

The first distinguishing mark of scientific research is that it has to do with facts of general validity. For instance, we made a study of all of the cripples in Cleveland. That was not a piece of research; it was an assemblage of necessary facts which had no general validity. There might have been a study of cripples which would have been a real piece of research, but this was merely an assembling of facts.

One of our organizations, some time ago, tried to find out how many children in a given school were a certain per cent under weight. This also was an assemblage of facts and not a piece of research; nor would it have been a piece of research if all the schools in the city of Cleveland had been studied. But if there had been some attempt to work out norms and standards, if there had been a real study of the relationship of under-nutrition and health, we should have had a real piece of research. In other words, research involves the study of facts with a general validity, or, as the dictionary says, a study of principles.

The second essential of scientific research is that the method shall involve three principles of any scientific work: First, it shall be unbiased. There was an editorial in the *Times* this morning which you perhaps read. It pointed out that much so-called research was simply digging up arguments for propaganda. That is not research in the scientific sense because it is not unbiased. No piece of research is worthy the name unless it is ready to go to the conclusions that come, whatever those conclusions may be.

The second principle of research, if it is to be scientific, is that it must be inductive. It must go from facts to principles, not a priori from principles to facts. In other words, it is not a philosophical discussion. It is an attempt to ascertain facts, and to get from those facts to their meaning.

The third characteristic of scientific research is that it tries to study the causal relations.

Summarizing our definition then, it seems to me that a piece of scientific research is a study of facts of general validity according to the scientific method: first, that it is unbiased; second, that it is inductive; and third, that it traces the causal relationship.

Research has an important place in social work; but there are three tasks in social work, and research, to my mind, is the last of the three in importance. First, we have the task of service. I have little sympathy with certain modern social workers who go into social work simply for self-expression. The fundamental idea behind social work is service—ordinary, every-day, humdrum service.

Second, we have the task of demonstration, or the use of the already-achieved results of research. Only as we make the results of previous sound research widely known and used are we justified in going on to more research. This brings the need of explanation, education, propaganda, or whatever you want to call it.

Third, and perhaps least, we have the task of research.

Research is, nevertheless, an indispensable and increasingly important part of social work. It is indispensable because of the trend of social work. Looking back not over

[1] Given at a meeting of the National Social Work Council, New York, December 31, 1925.

five years but over fifty years, we can see that social work has gone through, or is going through, three stages: first it was relief, then it was remedy, and now we are thinking of prevention.

On the relief side, scientific research was not particularly necessary. On the remedy side, particularly in the medical field—the field of health—scientific research is tremendously necessary. And on the prevention side, in the attempt to find out whether preventive measures really prevent, it seems to me we have a larger call for scientific research than we have ever had before. So, while I do not believe that scientific research is the major job of social work, I do with equal emphasis say that it seems to me that scientific research is important and increasingly important for social service.

I did a hasty piece of research in preparation for this paper. As you know, I asked you to let me know of any piece of research that you wanted to have done, that you thought was necessary to the practical conduct of your every-day work. Then I collected a few from current literature, particularly the September number of *Social Forces*, but I had to fall back for the majority on questions which I knew our local agencies needed to have answered, which were genuine research questions. In all I got about twenty-five possible research projects. If I could have had more time and you had perhaps taken a little more time, we could together, without much difficulty, have secured from seventy-five to a hundred research questions.

As I analyzed these, I tried first to draw a distinction between those that were interesting and those that were necessary. From *Social Forces* I found a question suggested for research, "Which are more energetic, Southerners or Northerners?" This was suggested by a college professor and would be a good mental punching bag for youngsters in college to test their muscles on, but it has no particular relation to what you and I have to do every day.

"Can infantile paralysis be prevented and, if so, how?"—a purely medical piece of research but one that we can list as necessary.

"How much social work can a community afford?" Just as a family has a budget and can afford a certain per cent for education, so a community has a budget and can afford so much for social work—again a necessary piece of research.

"How can different classroom methods carry over and influence the spare time of children?" This question interested me while I was still working in recreation. It seemed to me that, as I studied the financial backing of different cities and school boards, there was not a school board or a city in this country which could afford an adequate playground system as I had been conceiving it; that about all it could do was to provide a place for those who are particularly handicapped; and for other things we should have to depend upon the carry over from the classroom. About that time my own children began to come home from the kindergarten and I found them carrying over a lot from the classroom. As they have gone on, it seems to be decreasing; in other words, the further they get in school, the less they carry over into their everyday life. It seems to me there is a necessity for a piece of research on the different types of classroom presentation and the effectiveness of their influence on spare time out of school hours. In other words, there is need to find out how the money invested in the curriculum can also influence the spare time life.

The next thing I found as I went through this list of twenty-five or more research problems was that I had to distinguish between those which were bona fide research problems and those which simply required analysis and the application of principles that we already knew. To use a very homely illustration, this is the last day of the year and it makes us think about our own individual budgets and how we are coming out this year financially. I don't think this demands research. It simply demands analysis and the application of principles already known.

Two organizations came to me last summer because they were in a squabble and thought they needed some research. They didn't need any research—the problem wasn't one for research; it was one for a cool examination of the facts and the application of principles that they both knew. In other words, not all questions that can be asked are questions involving research.

I went through my lists and checked off

those that were research questions, and tried to analyze them further in relation to the groups which could be of value in doing the actual work. I found four main groups:

(1) The university.

(2) The foundations—and I am referring to something other than the position of foundations in furnishing money for research. It seems to me there are at least two or three types of questions that require the foundation method of study without reference to finance.

(3) The national organizations, in which you are particularly interested.

(4) Local federations of agencies and individual agencies.

As I went through this list of twenty-five or so research questions, I found that against most of them I had made more than one notation; that frequently the case needed both the university and a national organization, or it needed a university and a federation and a national organization. In other words, in many of them a piece of team work was necessary in order to make a research study. I then went through and underscored in each the organization which, it seemed to me, ought to carry the ball, ought to have the responsibility, ought to have the job of being the captain of the team. I found certain in which it seemed to me the university ought to be captain of the team, others which the national organization should head up, and so on.

I am not going into all of them, but I am going to take two groups and then in conclusion try to draw out of those two groups what seemed to be the underlying principles as to what is the unique function of a national agency or of a university in research.

It seems to me that research into the best methods of training social workers while they are at work is an illustration of a piece of research in which the university should be included but should not carry the ball. We have gone rather far in this country and are beginning to get somewhere in training social workers before they get into their jobs. We have our own labor union which has set up certain standards necessary before getting into the mystic circle of social work. But do we spend an equal amount of thought in training people for the next step in the job? The American Institute of Banking runs a training course for people who are doing banking work, fitting them for the next job in banking. The same, of course, has been accomplished in teaching fields, sometimes by having salary increases dependent upon study. Many school systems get their teachers to want additional training as they go on. Social work has not made any similar provision and it seems to me there needs to be a piece of research into the methods of training social workers on the job. I do not believe that the university is equipped to carry the ball but I do think it is equipped to be part of the team because it is going to have a large part in that additional training.

On the other hand, the university has to be the one to take the initiative or do the major part of the work in such a question as, "At what stage does under-nutrition become so acute that treatment (somewhat like a convalescent type of hospital treatment) is necessary?" We have three or four groups in Cleveland doing nutrition work and they are very amiable and peaceful, but they do altogether different bits of nutrition work; and if one of them had the measles, the other wouldn't catch it because they really meet so rarely. We need a piece of scientific research to find out at what stage under-nutrition becomes so serious that it needs hospital treatment, although it would not be such hospital treatment as would be given for acute disease. It seems to me that that is an illustration of a piece of research work that the university has to captain.

As an illustration of a piece of research work which the foundation should head up, apart from any financial resources, I would suggest: "What are the tests for the relative urgency of different kinds of social work?" I don't believe you as national agencies could do it because you are all interested in some one piece of social work; and I don't believe that a local federation could do it because of an inherent human laziness that doesn't want to raise any more money than it can help, so it would naturally conclude any urgency calling for more money should be small. I am sure the National Social Work Council can't do it, and I am dead sure the universities don't know enough about it and can't find out about it, so it seems to me that this is the

type of thing that has to be done by the foundations.

I am inclined to think, too, that a study of how much social work a community can afford has to be done by the foundations. It can't be done by a local fund or federation because it is to their interest not to work themselves too hard; and since most of us feel that each of our own pieces of work requires so many more dollars than we already have, *we* can't do it.

Certain types of research problems can be undertaken by a national agency better than by anyone else, and others need the national agency as part of the research team. "What types of social work are best done through public administration by tax-supported agencies?" Such a question has to be studied probably by a local federation because of local conditions. But I believe the work of the local federation should be teamed up with the national organizations which have contact with the several communities. This is the sort of research where national organizations have to help but not captain.

"For what is the social settlement best adapted, the discovery of social needs or the use of social forces?" I think you realize as I do that of late the settlements have become too much places for activity without the thought, which they had originally, of what their activities were for. In other words, my guess is that the settlements should be as windows into the problems that we all need to know something about. (This is only my guess. Others would guess differently, and they have as good a chance of being right as I.) I feel sure that only a national agency can study that sort of thing for it is a task that requires a wide knowledge of many local communities.

I won't go into those that I think the local federation or local agency should captain, but I should like, in conclusion, to draw on what is the strength and the weakness of the university, and of the national organization in heading up research.

It seems to me that the strength of the university is its acquaintance with scientific problems and scientific methods and that university research is especially necessary on problems requiring knowledge of medical science, of methods of teaching, and in the broader application of economics in those universities which have schools of business administration. In other words, a university is particularly adapted to those types of research which require close scientific background either in the physical or medical sciences, and also in economics.

What is the weakness of university research? There are two notable ones: (1) That contacts with concrete facts in other than scientific fields, particularly in social work fields, are likely to be second hand. I was interested in what Mr. Braucher said about spending $100,000 to bring Harvard University in touch with practical life in the business field. It was worth it, but it showed that it had to be definitely sought. The contacts of the average university, particularly in the social sciences, are likely to be second hand, what is written down in some book. Fortunately there is a real revolution going on in the social sciences now and this handicap is likely to be remedied. (2) The studies in a university are likely to be governed by the individual interest of the investigator rather than the needs of the problem to be investigated. If you won't misunderstand, university research is strictly amateur—not in the sense of being amateurish or flimsy, for it is solid, but in the literal meaning of the word—done for the love of it. I was talking with a university professor in Cleveland some months ago, a man who has taken high place in research in one of the physical sciences. We were talking about research and some of the things that needed to be studied. He remarked, "I should greatly resent anybody telling me what I should research. I am doing this because I like to do it." Certainly he was, and I am glad he was doing it for that reason. But the motive behind it was esthetic, not ethical. He did it because he liked to. There is no crime in doing a thing because you like to, if you can afford to. Think back to your own college days. Weren't most of the courses made up of what the professor wanted to teach and not what you needed to know? The professor thought the subject needed his sort of development, but he didn't know very much about what you needed to know. In many cases he didn't care. Similarly, it seems to me, the weakness of university research is

that it is likely to be dominated by the love of the professor to investigate the things he wants to investigate rather than the needs of the problem.

The national agency is strong and particularly adapted to getting facts where wide range or geographical distribution of data is needed. It seems to me that the national agency can do something that no other group can do, *i.e.*, correct the provincialism of every locality. As we study our problems in a locality we may think some one thing is particularly bad; but you, as national agencies, knowing conditions all through the country, recognize perhaps that our temperature is only up to 101 whereas another's temperature is 105. In other words, a national agency has a chance to correct local findings by study of widely separated communities and it is that type of research work that national agencies should go into.

The weaknesses of a national agency regarding research come from the habit of work of national agencies—a habit not by nature scientific. The primary job of a national agency is in the field of salesmanship, diplomacy, and administration, and not in scientific research. But so is the average business chiefly engaged in the field of salesmanship, diplomacy, and administration, and yet many large business houses do see the need of research and give a fairly free rein to it. So it seems to me that the limitations of a national agency are not unusual nor particularly hard to overcome.

I have tried to define what seems to me to be scientific research. I have tried to suggest its place in social work as subordinate but essential, and I have tried to analyze, out of a number of practical research problems, the type of problem that is a real research problem which needs to be answered, and the place of the national agency and the university in team work in research.

THE SOCIAL CASE WORKER'S ATTITUDE AND PROBLEMS AS THEY AFFECT HER WORK[1]

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PERSONALITY is the worker's stock in trade. The personal element she introduces into her contacts is essential for the development of the rapport that must be established if she is to gain a real understanding of the client's problem and work out a new orientation with him. The interplay of her personality and her client's forms the medium of her work, and sets in operation the case work process of disintegrating the present situation for the purpose of reintegrating it on a new and better level. Her entrance into the case precipitates this process; and because she herself becomes a part of the experiment, she *cannot* deal with her clients as laboratory material and *must* take into account her own reactions as part of the total reactions that need constant testing.

Case work technique embraces the knowledge of certain sciences and what may be termed case work crafts, but the reason why that technique is still intangible and unformulated is that its essence rests on the worker's personality. Her insight into the motivations not only of others but of herself determines what she sees, how she sees it and how she deals with it. None of us can take for granted the accuracy of our understanding. It can be maintained only by self-examination which should continue throughout the treatment of the case. In short, since the case worker is part of the case work situation, she has to keep as persistent track of herself as she does of her clients.

The social worker is often accused of entering social work from motives that would be disconcerting were they recognized. This is equally true of the motives that lead to the choice of any profession. The urge is the same—the seeking of satisfaction, which in itself is an essentially healthy motive. The important consideration becomes the sort of satisfaction one is looking for, since this will not only determine whether the job is a healthy or unhealthy

[1] Given at the National Conference of Social Work, Division on Mental Hygiene, June 2, 1926.

experience for the worker, but will determine the quality of her work.

Certainly the choice of a case work career calls for no apology, for it offers an exceptionally rich and constructive experience. The case worker has an opportunity to become acquainted with every aspect of life; she sees life as a whole, becomes aware of its underlying forces and, with a more realistic undertaking, can view it with detachment. If personal development comes from meeting reality, certainly the case worker has every chance for personal growth. It is only in literature that one gets an opportunity to extend one's personal boundaries to anything like the same degree, and social work has the advantage over literature of affording a much more active participation.

Like any other profession, social work may be used as a refuge. Through it, the social worker may escape the pressure of her own life, fling herself into the lives of others, and in her effort to meet their problems enjoy a sense of solving her own. The desire for flight may divorce her from her own life, which seemed perhaps a dull, uninteresting affair. The isolation she may have felt in her own social setting is relieved, for now she shares immediately the intimacies of other people's lives. She is exposed to all kinds of human emergencies and in handling them becomes the central figure. A sense of security lacking in her own emotional life comes from the knowledge that her clients find her necessary and look to her for help out of their difficulties. She has a sense of belonging which is gratifying. Now the danger of this is that she may come to live her personal life exclusively in her work so that she fails to cultivate those resources of her own which give her detachment and perspective. She may over-work—more from choice than necessity, although at the time she does not recognize this. She allows herself to assume responsibilities which professionally she wants her clients to assume and she gradually becomes possessive of her cases because she has allowed her clients to drift into dependency on her until they and she believe they cannot get on without her. This is a stage of intoxication through which most case workers pass. It is the stage where work becomes a personal matter and the worker looks to it for emotional satisfactions that should come from other sources. The natural result is that she takes disappointments and failures personally. The physician expects cases of partial success and failure as well as complete recovery. He deals with physical disease and the case worker with human relationships where the play of her personality is essential; but her attitude *must* become as impersonal as his. This is possible only by her coming to see her job in proper relation to her life as a whole.

One of the common motives that enter into the choice of social work as a career is a curiosity about life and a desire to solve those mysteries that are unconsciously disturbing to the worker. Unless she subordinates this curiosity to the practical ends of understanding, she is likely to investigate for investigation's sake, sacrifice contacts necessary for treatment in her drive to get facts, and be arrested in her growth because her emphasis on investigation robs her of the time and interest she should invest in treatment. The young worker especially is likely to enjoy the detective rôle and often fails to realize that investigating private lives is legitimate only if the results of investigation can be made of use to her clients. She will struggle to verify rumors of her client's jail sentence ten years previous although that fact cannot affect the present situation. She will be inclined to amass a great deal of such information and do little with it because she has a sense of final accomplishment in having run down a fact to its lair. On the other hand, the worker who has little curiosity about her clients will probably be unable to reach the intimacy with them essential to any real discussion of their problems. Her apparent lack of curiosity may spring from a feeling that close questioning means unwarranted intrusion into her client's privacy. Her scruple arises perhaps from a sensitiveness to any discussion of her own affairs and instead of using this sensitiveness to guide her in investigation, she evades the investigation.

The worker who feels no sense of control of her own life may seek reassurance in social work in trying to help manage the lives of her clients. Because she is animated by a hope that life can be dominated and its difficulties permanently solved, she is upset

by the unexpected and baffled by the perversities of events in case work. She loses faith and wonders if social work *is* worth while, because she has found it impossible to control the fate of those with whom she deals. Her difficulty arises from her failure to recognize case work limitations and the unruliness of reality itself.

The worker who feels little identification with her clients and is unable to bridge the gulf between herself and them is likely to have a feeling of superiority and look upon them as a different order of being. She regards their problems as peculiar to their social setting or she is inclined to minimize their difficulties by converting them into humorous anecdotes. By ignoring the significance of their lives, she may be trying to deny the painful reality of her own. All these problems of attitude in the young worker need to be recognized by those responsible for giving her a case work philosophy.

Human relationships depend upon our ability to identify ourselves with one another. This is the only basis for understanding. We cannot all be delinquent girls or deserting fathers but, by understanding their motives and recognizing the same motives in ourselves, we can appreciate their problems and understand their behavior. Without identification, the case worker cannot get the emotional significance of her client's experiences or reach any real understanding of his problem.

Personal prejudices are the usual barriers to identification. If the worker has religious bias or racial prejudice, she will be confused in her handling of cases involving these issues for, in reacting to her prejudices, she will lose sight of the client as a unique individual and not understand the painful situation that confronts him. If she has been brought up with narrow ideas on sex, she will find it difficult to accept the sex irregularities that crop up in her cases. Most of us pride ourselves on being free of prejudice, but how free are we? Doesn't each of us consider some one thing as beyond the pale? The judge is outraged by the youngster who bawls his mother out in court, because to him respect to mother is *the* essential virtue. There is the school teacher who showed considerable understanding of a child who was involved in a rather serious offense and, at the same time, was extremely intolerant of another youngster for telling a defensive lie she more or less forced upon him. "The one thing I *can't* forgive," she explained, "is lying. My father early taught me to respect the truth." There is the probation officer who considers the father who deserts a hopeless character. It might be diverting if we should each declare our notion of *the* unpardonable sin or, if we deny any such bias, describe our ideals —for they would serve the same purpose. We would find similarity in this exchange of ideas but probably also difference of opinion. And it might also be worth while to trace back these prejudices or ideals to their source, which we would probably find is an identification from which we have not broken away.

Since identification is at the basis of case work, as of all human relationships, it is essential for the case worker to recognize it as a mechanism that must be controlled. Otherwise it operates unconsciously, and she is unaware of the need to guard against the prejudiced view it may give her. Her control will depend upon her objective attitudes, and her ability to distinguish for her clients and for herself the reality issues otherwise obscured by subjective factors. The worker who allows herself to become entirely absorbed in her work is motivated by complete identification with her clients. She lives their lives, suffers their pain, is concerned with every detail of their existence. She becomes her client and by this move she loses the most valuable contribution she has to give, namely, her objective attitude toward his problem. She sees the problem only through his eyes, over-estimating his justifications and overlooking his bias; or, as the situation unfolds, she identifies herself first with one member of the family and then with another, mistaking these shifts for impartiality. Her perspective on the case is distorted, to the degree to which she remains identified with any part of the situation, for she will be as blind as her client to the reality issues and unable effectively to help him work out of his entanglement because she has allowed herself to be entangled too. She has gone over to his subjective position instead of withdraw-

ing to a vantage point where she would have the perspective of which he is at present incapable. She must be able to see beyond him and understand him as part of the whole situation if she is to succeed in giving him that objectivity which will enable him to manage himself more successfully.

In the family situation, perhaps the person with whom we most easily identify ourselves is the mother. This may be because it is often the apparent failure of the father that brings the case to the agency and also because his work takes him out of the home much of the time, leaving less opportunity for contacts with him. Furthermore, most social workers are women and are perhaps more likely to be familiar with the mother's experiences and know to what she is reacting. The chances are, however, that the identification with the mother would be equally common were all social workers men. The mother appeal is always strong and this makes it necessary for the worker to be sure she is equally successful in getting the point of view of the other members of the family. We are very much drawn to the mother who is sacrificing herself for her family and may expect the growing boys and girls to do the same, whereas their selfishness may be an entirely desirable phase of their adolescent urge for independence. We may appeal to the young delinquent on the score of his mother's anxiety and love for him or urge him to show his manhood by taking the place of the absent father, although appeals of this sort can only intensify his adolescent conflict. Furthermore, it justifies the mother in fostering his dependence on her and increases the problem that confronts her in the need of relinquishing her hold on him.

On the other hand the worker's sympathy may lie completely with the child, whom she sees with surprising regularity as oppressed and denied and in her handling of the case she endeavors to fit the environment exclusively to his needs. When the parents fail to give him the leeway she considers due him, she may lose sympathy with them, and handle their attitudes so badly that she fails to help the child. In planning for his future, she may weave in some of her own ideals. If she prizes education, she may expect parents to make unwarranted sacrifices in favor of their children's schooling, or expect youngsters to crave education as an end in itself. When the bright child insists on dropping school to go to work, she feels personally disappointed in him. In her identification, she may completely lose sight of the actual problem. This occurred in the case of a fifteen-year-old crippled girl, who aroused the sympathy of everyone who came in contact with her. Her father died in her infancy and after the death of the mother, three or four years ago, several social workers had become deeply interested in her. The child's adjustment depended upon weaning her from her desire to be cared for and helping her accept her physical disability as something that still did not exclude economic independence. The circumstances of her life were so appealing, however, that mother substitutes sprang up on all sides, and one worker after another, with the best intentions, failed to be of any real help because they were playing into the child's problem by giving her reason to feel that her disability would always win her affection and support.

If the identification mechanism breaks down anywhere it is perhaps likely to fail in our attempt to understand the father's problem. His working hours make it difficult to see him frequently but other factors seem to operate against the worker's establishing with him as successful contacts as with other members of the family. Perhaps she is too much inclined to look upon him as the person who *should* adjust to his responsibilities; or her identification with him may be too slight to enable her to reach an understanding of the emotional difficulties that lie back of his attitudes and his behavior. When he assumes the authoritative rôle and is over-severe in discipline of the children, she may blame him, not realizing this may be the only standard he has known and forgetting that she can change his attitude only by appreciating his emotional background. She is likely to discuss freely, with the mother, subjects she hesitates to take up with him. Her attitude toward him is less objective, less adult. This results in her failure to see the family problem in all its aspects and may cause her to evolve plans that cannot mean permanent solution.

The worker's attitudes are reflected not

only in her identification with the case work situation but in her handling of the relationship established between herself and the individual members of the family. Her status as a professional person immediately places her in a position of authority in the eyes of the client, and the relationship takes on the emotional coloring of a parent-child situation. To this situation both client and worker will react. The client turns to the worker for sympathy and help in problems that have been too much for him. Unless she interests him in recognizing the sources of his difficulty and thinking out with her ways and means for gradual solution, she may unconsciously be encouraging his dependence on her and allowing him to rely on her sympathy to back him up whenever an issue arises. When the worker is unable to give him the sympathy he wants, he will be resentful because he thinks she has lost interest, and it becomes clear that he has been reacting all along to *her* instead of to the situations confronting him. Take the sixteen-year-old boy with whom the worker has been on the best of terms and whom she has helped through various minor emergencies. Suddenly, he rebels against his step-father's oppressive authority by refusing to work. He is resentful of the pressure brought to bear by his older brother, and turns a deaf ear to his mother's entreaties. With considerable difficulty, the worker secures the sort of opening he has professed to want. He turns the job down. If, as his family has done in the past, she shows irritation and falls back on the conventional arguments used by them, he will see her as still another parent and will find satisfaction in her pique. If she sympathizes with him, she will encourage his subjective reaction to his problem and intensify his difficulty. By showing no reaction to the situation and remaining neutral in her sympathy, she will be best able to show him how the subjective attitudes resulting from his conflict with the parental situation are blinding him to the reality issue, which is his own necessity for having a job if he is to live an independent and satisfying life. Such a stand on the worker's part is likely to prevent his reacting to her as part of the struggle against authority, and instead may help him gain insight from the crisis that will further his development.

Because her rôle as case worker is so likely to place her in a position of parent to her client, the worker must be aware of the need to make the relationship as far as possible that of one adult to another, so that perhaps for the first time the client begins to acquire insight into his own needs, to make adjustments not because others force them upon him but because he sees them as essential to his own welfare. If, unconsciously, the worker enjoys the parent rôle, she will take over the whole situation and run it instead of putting it up to her client and helping him to work it out or carry it as much as possible. He may co-operate but not actually participate. The worker may not demand gratitude from him and yet continue to expect it in the more subtle form of submission to her influence. She establishes her contacts on a personal rather than professional level, and comes to look upon the contact as an end in itself instead of merely a means to an end. If her contacts are good, she may actually obtain concessions from both parties to a situation, concessions that they make, however, to *her* and not to each other and which therefore will not last. She may be unaware of this desire of a client to please her, and inadvertently allow him to play up to her; this blinds them both to the real issues and makes an actual change of position unlikely, for a shift that comes in an effort to please the worker rather than for the satisfaction it gives the client himself is unlikely to be permanent.

If the worker assumes the authoritative rôle, she will be inclined to make decisions for her client and jump to conclusions about what should be done before she has investigated the emotional issues that must be taken into account. She will want to control the situation and will be impatient with external obstacles that block her plans, such as an inadequate agency budget, the requirements of the educational law, the policies of the public schools or other agencies. She will be impatient of the client's limitations, which she failed to recognize at the outset because of her eagerness for complete success, and, not realizing that her mistake was in expecting the impossible of him, will con-

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THE FAMILY

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EDITORIAL

THE lure of the unknown is irresistible to the human spirit. Throughout the history of mankind, individuals have done honor to the discoverer, to the man who ventured out of the sunlight of the known into the twilight and darkness of the unpathed wilderness. Other men have followed the pathfinders until the well trodden ways were easy for the more sluggish spirit; they have been stimulated to fresh adventuring or, secure in an easy chair, they (vicariously) have landed with the Norseman on the green shores of Vinland or stood with Balboa on the Darien heights. Passion, drama, romance, and danger lurk in the unexpected. The pioneer is thought of as the one who goes beyond the ranges, beyond the physical frontiers of cultivation. The pioneer job has been conceived as not for the stay-at-home but for the traveler in far places.

Yet St. Francis found the unknown on his own doorstep in his own home town of Assisi. He was a discoverer, a pioneer almost without parallel in the history of the world, for the land which he sighted from his Darien heights can never be made easy for sluggish feet; its ways, however trodden, hold always the lure of the unknown. St. Francis discovered—or rediscovered—the individual. Each person whom he met offered a fresh adventure to be hailed with reverence and delight. The mystery of personality never became stale to him. He dealt not with humanity but with men and women to whom his insight paid reverence. He had a passion for discovery which singled out each bird, each tree, each rock, each human being as new, uncharted, fresh—for who can chart the mysteries, the possibilities, the greatnesses of the human soul? To him each had his special value; there was no least or greatest because all were equal with that equality which is based on the fundamental worthiness of a human being.

St. Francis was no less a pioneer because he voyaged in the realms of the intangible: his compass, if we may force the figure a bit, was a point of view. James Stephens tells us that "mystery affrights and bores him [man] but when he has given a name to any appearance then mystery flies away and reality alone remains for his cogitation. Later perhaps reality will enrage and mystify him more than any unexpectedness can do." St. Francis was not bored or affrighted by mystery; he welcomed surprises and to him reality was the most profound of mysteries. It is this point of view which makes him one in a long line of valiant voyagers—a line whose beginning and whose end we cannot envisage. Poets, artists, historians, novelists, scientists, seekers in the realms of beauty and of truth have their hardships not dependent upon time and place, their dark rivers and trackless forests, as they seek to understand and reveal the manifold motives and emotions of the human mind. They have found it true that "you can never settle down within the theory you have chosen, the cause you have embraced; know that another theory, another cause exists and seek that. The enhancement of life is not for the comfort lover. As soon as you succeed, that success means something arising to overthrow your security."

Seven hundred years have not limited the possibilities of discovery in the great range of human relationships, of human joys and sorrows. In this realm not the letter of the map but the spirit of the approach will determine the opportunities of the eager hearted for the blazing of trails; and the spirited point of view of St. Francis—and of his great company of fellow voyagers through the ages—is still a worthy compass for the adventurous pioneer.

OBJECTIVE TESTS IN CASE WORK[1]

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THE case of Alexander and Emily Barlow is probably known to more case workers than any other one teaching case record, and so I am using it to examine this subject.

When the case record stops Mr. Barlow is in jail, serving a year's sentence for non-support. Previous information tells us he is syphilitic, has been a veritable Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde since his sixteenth year, wandering as a hobo for months at a time between intervals when he was at home, and presented a satisfactory appearance. He had shown an amazing lack of sense of responsibility. His neglect of his family had amounted to brutality although there is no evidence that he was physically abusive.

On the other hand there is evidence that he was courteous to strangers, a satisfactory workman and that he had real attitudes of repentance after his hobo trips.

Let us assume a year has passed, and that certain changes have taken place:

He comes out of jail, disciplined, and works fairly steadily, contributing to the support of the family, although not living with it. In jail he was treated for syphilis and he continued the treatment after he left, so that he seems well on toward a cure. He has not gone off on any hobo trip; he has worked steadily and is consistently considerate of his wife and children.

If we attempt to separate these statements into objective phenomena and subjective judgments, we get something like the following:

Objective elements: In jail; out of jail; syphilitic; syphilis improved; worked steadily, left home after a certain period; has not left home in last few months.

Of the objective material, one item at least is not primarily social—syphilis. Its diagnosis, its progress and treatment is a medical matter and should not be, in itself, included in any objective test of case work. The man's attitude toward the disease, the case worker's effort to have him treated—those are aspects of case work, but they are subjectively defined.

On the subjective side we have: that he was a wanderer, a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, a hobo at times; showed a lack of responsibility, selfish to the point of brutality; a gentleman at certain times, repentant, a satisfactory worker; that his steadiness of work increased after leaving jail; that he was considerate of his wife and family.

A brief inspection of this list indicates that it contains the material which really counts. It is of no social significance by itself that the objective fact—out of jail—be true. Any change of attitude after being in jail is the significant thing. And attitude is determined by a subjective judgment; it is not an objective phenomenon.

If it be stated that attitudes are inferred from acts, and that acts are objective, then there are two partial answers. (1) Most acts, entirely isolated and objectively regarded, are socially meaningless. Take the statement "considerate of his family." That is a judgment based on a number of acts. Let us take one—payment of money to his family. The act is objective. If it is paid because he does not want to go back to jail and the moment probation is relaxed he intends to quit; or if he intends to pay only so long as necessary to regain his strength for another hobo trip—that is one thing. If he performs exactly the same act out of a genuine desire to do his duty to his family, that is another. In other words, the identical act may mean different things—socially—under different circumstances: in this illustration, a difference in intent; and intent is a subjective judgment made by the case worker.

(2) The other consideration is that attitudes are inferred not from one act, but from the relationship between a number of acts: a number of acts in a certain order or certain combination leads one to draw the inference of a certain attitude. No one of the acts in itself would warrant such a subjective judgment, but the combination of acts does. It is a familiar mental process,

[1] Given at the National Conference of Social Work, Division on the Family, May 31, 1926.

more often experienced than noting data on which the judgment is based, so that we are accustomed to give to the subjective assumption the validity of the data on which it is based. It is much easier to say, "It's a gloomy day"—a subjective judgment—than to give the objective data on which the inference is made: condition of sky, moisture in air, absence of sun.

Exact science uses inference from objective data, and the inferences have tentative validity. The concept of the electron, of electricity itself, of ether are inferentially formed, concepts created to explain certain phenomena. The phenomena, however, are constant, and they are explanations of a causal relationship, without any qualitative elements; not how good electricity, but how much. But in social judgment, the element of quality always enters.

Objective data in case work, therefore, consist of such states, acts, circumstances as are observable by the senses—in jail, out of jail; working, not working; paying money, not paying money to one's family—which in themselves have no social significance. They acquire a social significance only in relation to other acts, and then only when one relates the inferred judgment to a norm of conduct which the case worker has established, or which society had set up. Take for illustration the judgment "hobo trips." When analyzed, the judgment "hobo trips" is formed by the acts of leaving home, coming back months later, dirty and ragged, and sending no money home during absence.

Going away on a trip is not in itself antisocial—else we all here should be guilty: coming home dirty and ragged is not always condemned—forest fire fighters return in that plight; sending home no money happens whenever a man goes to a hospital, and no social condemnation ensues. But a married man, who is healthy, who can get work, and whose wife does not possess an adequate income of her own, shall support his wife—this is a social norm. That is, social good demands or social experience has demonstrated the necessity that when a man stands in the relations of husband and father to other persons, those relationships, under certain conditions, require that he furnish economic support.

The significant factor in that statement is "responsibility dependent upon relationship." Husband is not only a status; it carries responsibilities. Social judgments are concerned almost entirely with evaluating the degree or quality of behavior as contrasted with the normal responsibility. A good mother, a careless workman, a useful citizen, a criminal, are social concepts; they are deductions based upon a large number of facts, their relationship to each other, and the comparison of each deduction with a socially determined norm.

(For purposes of discussion I don't want to analyze the formation and tentative character of the norm, except to indicate that it, in turn, is a complex matter, on which objective agreement is almost impossible.)

Summing up at this point, we can say that behavior consists of acts which may be objectively appreciated, but acts whose significance can be determined only in relationship: e.g., does this group of acts indicate that the person is meeting his obligation involved in the social relationship which is being studied?

Having said this much, we can make certain observations.

Acts vary in the degree of accuracy with which inferences can be drawn from them. If a man beats his wife, there is but little danger in drawing an inference without further analysis. In general, however, such acts are safely given alone as evidence of behavior because they are unusual.

Some believe that all behavior may be analyzed into unit acts, each with its own significance, such as beating one's wife. The great difficulty in such a method is that even beating one's wife is itself not evaluated as it is because he is beating some one, or that it is a woman he is beating, but that in the person-to-person relationship physical injury inflicted by one on another is injurious to social stability in general; and that in the husband-wife relationship, wife beating has in addition certain evils of its own, certain denials of obligations such as protection, consideration, affection, and so on.

The next comment to be made is that when objective facts are listed as problems or accomplishments, they should carry a minimum of inferred social quality. Earning $14 a week is an objective fact. Ade-

quacy or inadequacy is an inferred matter depending on other facts and attitudes.

Mrs. Barlow earning $14 a week, even in 1919, could almost take care of her three children and herself. The responsibility she assumed in her economic relations was more rigid than that of the average person. That does not mean we should not protect against low wages; it does mean that in Mrs. Barlow's case it is questionable whether $14 a week is to be listed as a disability.

We hear a good deal of a dependency index. Dr. Emerson has berated us soundly for not doing what physicians have done in charting the progress of their conquest of disease. However, even in the field of medicine, certainty is by no means so easily secured as it may seem. Dr. Emerson can tell us how much less—or more—of any specific disease there may be, because diseases are objectively verified; and he may tell us how much longer or shorter time men are living than they used to live, because that can be measured. But can he tell us how much healthier men are than they used to be or that they are so at all? Health is a matter of success in relationships and can be only so defined, and I don't think there is any successful and accepted method for determining it.

Dependency: what is it? It is of course a concept, based on a wide range of acts. If one act is taken as definitive—application to an agency for financial relief—an inference is made which is subject to all sorts of errors.

Mrs. Barlow's sister, you may remember, appealed in her behalf in 1908. No aid was given, case closed. In 1909 no application was made. In 1918 Mrs. Barlow applied; aid was given. In a dependency index should we list Mrs. Barlow as an unnecessary applicant in 1908, independent in 1909, dependent in 1918? If we do, our words mean nothing. Here a brand new element, a new relationship, enters into the problem of objective tests: that of the social agency to the client. In 1908, Mrs. Barlow was in probably her greatest need, but the attitude or theory of the agency caused it to refuse assistance. That attitude probably kept Mrs. Barlow away from it for several years. In 1918 Mrs. Barlow had come quite a long way back on the road of independence and yet the society accepted—in fact sought—the responsibility and carried it for months.

A dependency index that means anything at all will be possible when this element of difference can be ignored.

The number of applicants in one community as compared with the number in another is, I believe, more accurately a measure of social and work skill and attitudes than of dependency.

Again, one of the most dangerous of errors in case work is to assume that a behavior which followed case work was caused by it.

In 1908 Mrs. Barlow was utterly discouraged, defeated in the struggle against the hard circumstances of her life, about ready to surrender upon any favorable terms. In 1918 we find her with much of her old courage returned—hard, bitter, violent tempered to be sure, the prices she had paid for her victory; but she had won her major battle; she had saved enough of herself to keep her home and the affection of her children. Not the wildest enthusiast would claim that there was any causal relation between this good result and the case work of the preceding fourteen years. One would be almost justified in saying it happened in spite of the case work.

The illustration brings out another point —a variant of our first one—that our evaluations are subjective and qualitative. How can Mrs. Barlow's progress in her mastery of circumstances be measured? When near defeat she was dirty, her hair uncombed, her one child neglected, her home uncared for. When she had won out, she was neat, her home was spotless, her children were pathetically loyal and affectionate. Those were the objective phenomena, but relatively meaningless by themselves. The big fact was that she had grown in capacity to handle the burdens of life. Cleanliness, neatness, even affection of children might or might not accompany such a development in personal capacity.

I should like to make at least one positive suggestion in this long list of negatives. If our statistics and the publicity growing out of them have so little of the objective in them, might we not experiment in listing positive accomplishments, which have objec-

tive validity? The grade attained in school, new adornments in the home, church connections made, relatives who have been brought into contact again with the client, the increased steadiness of work, the contributions the older children are induced to make to their parents—they at least are objective. Such a recital, however, brings out another weakness of any attempt to evaluate case work by whatever method we use: we assume credit for accomplishments in whose making we had, at best, only a small part.

It seems to me we must candidly face the fact that at present objective data do not help us much in estimating the tasks which social case work assumes or in evaluating the results of its efforts. Our means of description are subjective evaluations, the expressions of our judgments respecting situations and progress. This being so, the first essential is that as nearly as possible our inferences shall be made accurately and the objective data used as premises defined in as nearly uniform manner as words may afford. This brings us back to the need for uniform terms in statistics and for uniform terminology in social case work. Until these ends are accomplished, we cannot take even the first steps in a scientifically accurate comparison of work or results. If, however, we all use words in the same way, and they are exactly defined, we can then make our inferences with one great element of error eliminated.

But even then, I don't think the needs of publicity or of interpretation will be met. People, after all, are interested in people, not in isolated facts about them. The real objective test of case work is an honestly and dramatically described case story.

HOW TO STUDY A CASE RECORD[1]

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IT IS perhaps significant that the term "record study" meets the ear more frequently than it did a few years ago. What we used to call "record reading" now enjoys an improved status. Besides having other connotations this also reflects the truth that case histories written in recent years are less grudging in their yield and contain material that not only warrants but actually demands study if the case worker is to go about her business sure-footedly.

On the other hand, we (in our agency, at any rate) have found our case histories expanding in a yeasty kind of way that puts a heavy burden of study on the conscientious worker. Some instinct of thrift or self-defense on the part of the visitor leads to the inclusion of much unimportant material, and the common practice of the family agency of dictating a strictly chronological record, call by call, telephone message by telephone message, interview by interview, carries with it the temptation to include useless detail that obscures, rather than clarifies, the issues. The most serious hindrance to record study at the present time is record bulk.

Obviously, there is no one way of studying a record, just as there is no one purpose for which records are studied. The method will vary with the purpose. The supervisor who wishes to observe the characteristic working methods of one of her visitors will approach her study in a way quite different from the one she would employ if she were studying a single record from the standpoint of the social treatment to be worked out. For example, she may study a handful of first interviews as to content, form and the visitor's apparent ability to establish an easy relationship on first contact; or she may survey a group of records to see how the visitor commonly builds up her case study and interprets her material. The definition and comparison of treatment processes in a group of records presenting a common problem demands another approach. Study of case records for research purposes calls for a still different method—ordinarily the use of a questionnaire or schedule carefully framed to fulfil the intention of the study.

In this paper the writer has assumed that

[1] Given at a meeting of the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work, Cleveland, June 2, 1926.

we are speaking from the standpoint of the supervisor or case worker who is analyzing a case record with social treatment in view.

It might be said here that it is usually unwise to try to study a record with too many purposes in mind at one and the same time. The more diverse these purposes, the more difficult and confusing it is to carry them forward simultaneously while reading the record; this of course because the mind is constantly being asked to refocus itself. That way lies, if not madness, at least a distressing sense of mental confusion and destruction of the unity of any central purpose of study. To illustrate: the supervisor will find it difficult to study a visitor's characteristics in record writing at the same time that she is studying the record from the standpoint of what we are pleased to call "investigation and treatment."

Perhaps the necessary preliminary of any study is throwing off the executive mood—the mood of doing—and putting on the reflective, analytical, impersonal mood of the student. Nor is this a mood into which the overburdened case worker or supervisor—and most case workers and supervisors seem to be overburdened—slips easily. The social worker's instinct is for action rather than study. Moreover, the insistence of the telephone and office caller, the pressure of the immediate and the emergent, the pile of records to be read, all tend to keep one in the executive frame of mind, besides being constantly interruptive of the trend of thought. A prerequisite, then, to record study is a time definitely set aside for study and kept relatively free from interruption. If this cannot be had in the office, it should be taken elsewhere, perhaps in a quiet nook of the public library or in the worker's room at home. Record study should receive recognition on the schedule and not be regarded, habitually at any rate, as evening recreation for the worker. The time will not offer itself. It has to be seized, and the fact that some of the busiest case workers and supervisors have succeeded in wresting it from the calendar is submitted as proof that it can be done.

We need the mood of the student in record study because what we are after—and what we too often fail to get—is perspective. The day's work keeps the picture so close to our eyes that its outlines are blurred and its true values and significance are often lost. A signal illustration of this tendency came to my attention a few days ago. One of our visitors had occasion to visit a family that had been under her care two years before. The present visitor was feeling discouraged over the lack of progress, but the former visitor's fresh eye noted many concrete evidences of change for the better. (Speaking of "measures of growth in personality," the visitor found one here in a comparison of the cats of the two periods!) One wonders whether, if the present visitor had studied the whole record with detachment she would not herself have been aware of change.

I suppose we need also to rid our minds of cramping, biasing considerations that tend to vitiate our judgment. Shortness of relief funds, for example, may modify what we can *do* in a given situation, but it ought not to impair our intellectual integrity in evaluating the situation. Too often it does, and frequently we are not aware of it.

Here enters in, too, the difficulty commonly experienced by workers who try to analyze their own work—the difficulty of unscrambling themselves from the picture, if I may employ a mixed metaphor. And yet it is in this impersonal taking of stock, by studying the record of a family that has been under care for a considerable period of time, that enlightenment often comes. Our advice to the worker who is analyzing the record which has been partly or entirely written by herself, then would be: Forget that you have ever had anything to do with this family. Study the record as if it were the work of another person. Break up your habits of thought as related to this particular family by re-aligning material and testing it objectively. This is one of the best exercises in self-supervision that can be devised. One test that has been employed with illumination to the worker is writing down one's impressions of the father and mother or the children of the family; then seeing how well these impressions are supported and verified by the data of the record. One is frequently dismayed to see how meagre the sum total of material is and how often impressions have scarcely a leg to stand

on—at least, not what you might call a really objective leg. Sometimes, in cases where the worker is faced by a difficult decision, it is of value to set down in parallel columns the facts from the record that lend support to each side of the argument.

Assuming that we have now the unprejudiced mind washed free from executive taint, and a sign on the door, "Do not interrupt under pain of death," let us go on to our record study. It would seem that record study resolves itself essentially into the application of tests at the following points:

(1) The factual basis.

(2) Analysis and interpretation of the facts.

(3) The treatment given.

I suppose it might be re-stated less abstractly and more humanly in some such terms as these: Here is our family, a little group of human beings. Do we understand them as living, breathing personalities? Do we understand why they are what they are, why they do what they do? Do we have a clear understanding of their difficulties? Just what have we tried to do in the past to help them overcome these difficulties, and how have we tried to do it?

(1) *The Factual Basis:* Having in mind the thought that one of the things we want to discover in studying a record is whether we have a clear definition of problems in their setting, we shall examine our mass of factual material. If we have, for example, a man whose constant flitting from job to job is one of the problems we have to deal with we shall look in our record for the facts that enable us to determine what causes this type of behavior. These facts will be of no one kind, nor will they come from any one source or set of sources. Part of them will be found in family history, in a study of the discipline and training of the parental home during the man's childhood and youth; in a study of natural interests and abilities, of education, of physical, mental, and emotional handicaps, of temperament and emotional make-up, of frustrated hopes, desires, and ambitions; in a study of the relationship between husband and wife, between father and children, and the influences these relationships have upon the man's adjustment to employment. Obviously the more we know about all the things that may affect a man's employment adjustment, the better equipped we shall be to judge the sufficiency of the factual material. Probably, in our minds at least, we shall arrange this material in convenient groupings so that we may determine where, if anywhere, the deficiencies are. We may find, perhaps, that the physical findings are incomplete, that the data are insufficient to tell us whether we are dealing with a normal, a subnormal, or an abnormal mind; that we have no notion how the man interprets his own moves from job to job or the considerations that influence him.

If we keep our emphasis thus on determining whether we have the information needed to define problems and to explain the behavior of the members of our family group, we shall not fall into the error of mechanically judging that the factual basis is adequate because many sources have been consulted and the interviews look long and full, nor that it is necessarily inadequate because few sources have been consulted; we shall be led inevitably to scrutinize content, to synthesize, analyze, and synthesize again.

The chronological family case record usually offers us family and personal history in patches which may be found throughout the record. Piecing together is necessary if we are to have anything more than a jumble of assorted ideas about the life of our client. This piecing together process I most easily accomplish by jotting down in chronological sequence with dates significant facts in the life of each parent. (This scheme is as applicable to children, of course, as it is to parents.) To be sure, this is only a skeleton but it does help to give one an orderly idea of the individual's progress through life, and at the same time it often reveals contradictions, inaccuracies, and gaps in the field of facts. To me it serves as a framework around which I build my conception of the individual, and into it is worked mentally such material on personality and behavior as the record may afford. This conscious thinking through of individual's lives, and the subsequent attempt to interpret the meaning and significance of events will usually give rise to questions which we wish to have answered.

(2) *Analysis and Interpretation:* Here it is, I suppose, that our special brands of ignorance, our imperfect sympathies, our prejudices, our liking for doing rather than thinking, our unscientific habits of thought are most likely to betray us. How often we try to make the cart pull the horse and fail to distinguish between causes and effects!

Considering the amount of time most of us have for record study, and the number of records it is incumbent upon us to cover in that time, I realize that we cannot always, or perhaps often, indulge a taste for elaborate forms of analysis. But to sharpen our analytical faculty, to quicken our perception of causal relationships, to give us the "patience, subtlety, and breadth" that we need to bring to our everyday analysis, it does seem that we should at frequent intervals subject a case problem to searching analysis—doing it on paper rather than in our heads. Perhaps following the medical analogy, and ranging our diagnostic findings in three parallel columns, headed *Symptoms, Pathology* and *Etiology,* will prove a stimulating exercise. When we realize how difficult it is to determine to which column to assign a given item, we get an increasing awareness of the complexity of causal relationships, and the intricate interweaving of physical, mental, emotional, and social factors. This method also has the virtue of showing us the yawning gaps in our diagnostic material. "Why?" is the most provocative question in the world, and it is the question that we should keep foremost in record study.

If we are going to plead lack of time for such thoroughgoing analysis, what is going to be our "common or garden variety"? If we have well assimilated our factual material, it will be in the main, I suppose, a mental process of deduction and inference, of naming what we find. Most agencies now use some form of analysis sheet. The supervisor or the visitor who is reading a record other than her own, will naturally test her own conclusions by comparison with the findings on the analysis sheet. The visitor who is reading her own record will test her earlier conclusions by the review and re-interpretation of evidence.

Since we are thinking of diagnosis as a basis for treatment, our interest is not alone in pathological findings. We have not expressed the whole individual when we have catalogued the things that are wrong with him. Most of us would make but a sorry showing if we were written down solely in terms of our handicaps. One of our workers remarked the other day that a person was "more than the sum of his complexes and inhibitions." We should search our record for the elements in circumstance, in personality, in the sum total of relationships that offer a vantage point. We ought to form the habit, too, of looking in other than the conventional spots for these elements. Also I suppose we must remember the paradoxical truth that assets are sometimes liabilities. We are accustomed to enter "good housekeeping" triumphantly among the assets, and yet that good housekeeping may mean a worn-out, nagging mother and a home where spotless floors are more important than happy children.

(3) *Treatment:* In studying treatment, perhaps these are some of the questions we shall wish to ask:

(a) Are treatment plans in alignment with the diagnostic findings—or at least as nearly in line as agency and community resources permit? It is curious how far at variance these two things can be. Sometimes this is due to lack of diagnosis, sometimes to wrong diagnosis, sometimes to failure to understand the import of diagnostic findings. I think of a family where the visitor had made quite a painstaking study of the family and personal history of the mother, a widow, and had added to that study close observation over a period of time. The children were utterly forlorn and neglected, and the social evidence was overwhelmingly in favor of the conclusion that improvement could not be looked for. After more than two years of fruitless effort the children were placed, but even then the case worker was busily hatching a new plan to improve the mother, with the thought of re-establishing the home. We do right to be cautious in labeling any situation hopeless, we do right to test our conclusions by experimental treatment, but of what use history, of what use social evidence, if they influence our planning so little?

(b) Are the goals in treatment clearly envisaged? In other words has the worker

defined what it is she is trying to do? We all have seen examples of the aimless, amiable kind of visiting where the visitor's slogan seems to be "I don't know where I'm going but I'm on my way." There are two other possibilities that one might look for. One is failure to take the long look—short-time planning, with no vision of ultimate ends in treatment. The other is failure to reduce the ultimate end to terms of definite steps to be taken.

(c) Is treatment directed toward the fundamental problems or is it preoccupied with the suppression of symptoms? To offer a simple example: Scolding Johnnie for his truancy may make him more afraid not to go to school; but if improper placement in school is the cause of the truancy, there is the point of attack.

(d) Considering the situation and individuals involved, are the treatment processes well chosen and thoughtfully worked out? Jack is a matter-of-fact little boy whose mother has taught him to eat what is put before him. The trouble is that there hasn't been enough to put before him. The provision of an adequate diet is the treatment needed to bring him back to normal weight. Not so simple is the case of Angelina, a dramatic Italian child who quite literally enjoys the distinction of being the most under-nourished member of her family. This, with her habit of nocturnal enuresis, brings her much attention. You will not succeed in pouring milk down Angelina's skinny little throat until you have made plumpness a real desideratum. This may involve quite a complicated piece of psychological treatment for Angelina herself, and definite effort to show the parents how their attitudes enter into the situation.

Here we have, then, two instances of malnutrition, calling for entirely different processes in treatment.

(e) Does treatment address itself to the situation as a whole, with due emphasis on the various factors involved, or is it partial and limited? We recognize, of course, that many situations, perhaps most situations, call for a one-by-one method of approach, but this clear-sighted and deliberate recognition of order in approach is a different thing. We are speaking now of needs unrecognized or forgotten in the rush of things, of an absorption in one phase of treatment that renders the worker blind to other phases and causes her to lose perspective on the whole.

A notable example of this may often be found in the handling of desertion situations. There is a tendency to do one of two things: Either to forget all about the deserter, after a perfunctory inquiry, centering attention on problems of health and relief; or to go very lightly on family treatment, the emphasis all resting on search for the deserter. It often happens, too, in both types of effort, that there is a curious lack of analysis of the disrupting influences, and little deliberate and conscious thought directed toward the removal of these difficulties.

(f) At this point in our study of treatment, we may ask ourselves just what has actually been attempted? Wherein has it been successful? Wherein has it failed? How may success or failure be accounted for? We may find that certain effort was foredoomed to failure because it was out of harmony with the diagnosis or because it was premature or the steps not skilfully planned. Or perhaps the difficulty lies in that hardest of all things to weigh and estimate in record study, viz., the influence of the personality of the visitor, the reactions of visitor and family to each other. The visitor who is most sensitive to personality, most delicate in touch, most scrupulous in her use of influence, is not by any means always the best record writer, and clients have been known at times to disclaim with some heat the understanding that the record seemed to show.

Isn't our tendency in record study to accept the visitor passively, as a matter of fact, instead of thinking definitely of her relationship to what is transpiring? We should look for the evidences of flexibility, of open-mindedness, of patience, of meeting of issues; for evidences of arbitrariness, didacticism, scolding. If we find indifference on the part of the family, a strain of antagonism, the reflection of a defensive attitude on the part of family or visitor, we may draw some tentative conclusions which may help the visitor not only to see what is hampering treatment in this particular case, but also better to understand the things in

herself that call forth certain types of emotional response. Occasionally there is light to be had in the study of a visitor's promises to the family. The premature promise, the rash promise on which delivery could not be made, the forgotten or neglected promise, all have their bearing on the progress of treatment and the relationship between visitor and client.

It is sometimes helpful to review the successive contacts with certain individuals—relatives, for example. If we note the frequency of contact, the method of approach, the subject matter of the interview, the way in which the visitor has attempted to use them, it often helps to show why they are for us or against us.

In family agencies many conflicts between visitor and family center around questions of material relief. Here we need to analyze the objective basis for the family's complaints by a careful study of budget and of the relief plan as it has really operated over a period of time—in other words, the actual income, the actual expenditure for relief, the kind of relief, its regularity and dependability and the method of administration. Then we shall want to see how the plan actually relates itself to this family's needs and to the ends of treatment. We may or may not find a need for increased relief. What we often do find is a need for change in the method of administration, or more of a genuine collaboration between visitor and family in budget and relief planning.

Of course, our study of budget and relief plans will not be confined to cases where there is conflict over relief. It is peculiarly pertinent where tuberculosis or malnutrition are present or where families must be largely dependent on others over long periods of time. We might propound these questions as a test of relief plans: "Is the family making normal gains in health? Is there a reasonable standard of comfort? Have we utilized fully the family's own resources? Are we bringing about a rising standard of wants and at the same time developing an initiative and resourcefulness that in the future will enable the family to meet those wants?"

In studying the record of a family under care for a long time, or under care at several different times, it is often enlightening to note how many visitors have been involved, the length of their contacts, the gaps in between, their different methods of approach, their varying emphases in treatment. The typewriter succeeds in making things look more continuous than they really are. If we scrutinize the time gaps in the work of individual visitors, and the time gaps between visitors, we may find there a suggestion as to why little has been accomplished. After having experienced the fleeting pecks of nine different visitors, the family may be justified in feeling that it knows the formula very well indeed. We shall do well to look, too, in such a record, for the period when the agency's relationship with the family seems to have been happiest and most helpful. Study of the treatment plans of that period and the visitor's method of approach may offer us some suggestion for the future.

We have been discussing mainly the objectives of record study. It has seemed wise to put the emphasis there rather than on mechanics because most people prefer their own study devices and methods, and the method that appeals to one may seem roundabout and cumbersome to another. Methods will relate themselves, I imagine, to the particular kind of mind and memory we happen to have and the habits we have developed as students.

One might stop to ask, however, how many notes and what kind of notes we shall take during our reading of the record—and in what form? I confess I have never answered this question to my own satisfaction. On reflection it seems to me that I am taking fewer notes during the reading of the record than I used to. I tell myself that it is because stopping for much note-taking causes me to lose my sense of the whole but the chances are that I have rationalized my dislike for being interrupted in the middle of a story. Whatever one's feelings may be on that point, the digestive process that must follow the reading is certain to result in questions, comment, criticism which we shall wish to put in a form accessible for future reference and intelligible even when "cold." Some workers prefer a card which can be placed in a desk file. A simple schedule in letter-size form offers certain advantages:

(1) It affords considerably more space

than the card and is likely to insure more careful analysis and better arrangement of material.

(2) Special points to which one may wish to refer later are more easily located.

(3) The size permits filing either with the record or in a standard-size cabinet.

The last thought I would leave with you is mainly for those of us whose daily diet is record study, with never a sight of the family in question, except through the eyes of another person. For us the record becomes increasingly significant. But therein lies the danger of becoming academic, of losing our sensitiveness to life and living. We have double need to create for ourselves as vivid a feeling as we may of the personalities of our family group. They come to us "in the flat," as it were, and we have to make them live and move if our record study is not to become stale and mechanical. Nor should our study turn into a petty flaw-picking that leaves the visitor dispirited and disgusted with the job. If it is true that we should be looking for the potentialities of the family, it is also true that we should be alive to the potentialities of the visitor. Gracious recognition of good pieces of work, of the spirit and intention of the visitor, of the many confronting difficulties, will probably not cause many visitors to develop delusions of grandeur.

And finally we have to remember that the record never really has the last word. Our inferences, our conclusions will often be found to be untenable when confronted by the visitor. But in the give and take of conference, perhaps we shall succeed in loosening up each other's ideas a bit.

Discussion by Helen L. Myrick

ACCEPTING Miss Waite's objective of record study as the "analysis of a case history by the supervisor or case worker, with social treatment in view" and her statement that it is difficult to consider more than one objective at a time, it is nevertheless true that the outcome of such study is manifold. In the first place, is not our underlying purpose one not only of evaluating and perfecting our present technique of investigation and treatment, but also of suggesting new approaches to the situation and the individuals involved? To carry out this purpose requires of course, as Miss Waite suggests, the close analysis of the problems presented and the methods used. It also involves a great deal of surmise. However, if we note our surmises in carefully worked out suggestions regarding methods of treatment, will we not stimulate active thought and discussion on the part of the worker, especially if our surmises prove to be *incorrect?* Is that not one of the most helpful results of record study?

Is not the final effect of these surmises a gradual reshaping of record writing so as to include the worker's methods and technique in order that the need for surmise may be reduced to the minimum? With the greater emphasis on the study of personality and early training and influences in our investigation, we have gradually changed our ideas of recording facts of history. By the same means can we not portray our present day trends in social treatment in our record writing? These trends appear to be a consideration not only of the psychological effect of the worker's personality on the client, mentioned by Miss Waite, but also of our efforts to get definite responses from the client in accordance with his attitudes and habits of thought, the reaction of the client to the worker's technique, her manner of approach, the incentives used and her means of establishing rapport. A complete record of the give and take in typical interviews in the case is essential if we are to gain insight and perfect our technique. Unless an effort is made to obtain such recording, our record study is bound to become but a tread mill, a sterile matter of improving only the apparent limits of the case rather than a forging ahead into new possibilities of development of personality.

Of course, as Miss Waite points out, the actual integration of the supervisor's surmises and suggestions of new methods and the worker's ideas and experience takes place in the conference on the case. However, in order to be sure that we think through the treatment processes and investigation as thoroughly as possible on the given case, it is essential when studying the record to write out our ideas for future work. These written suggestions need to be specific and detailed and should include new technique to be tried as well as new facts to be learned. By this means, the full value of record study is crystallized in the form of constructive suggestions as a permanent memorandum for the record.

It is not easy to formulate ideas for new technique, especially with the present meagreness of our records on this score. Nevertheless, in spite of this lack and the necessity for surmise, it is possible to make suggestions as hypotheses which may subsequently be accepted, modified, or rejected in accordance with the worker's experience. For example, in the case of a drinking, deserting husband and a wife who complained of illness where there were no physical findings, the following sug-

gestions were made of methods to cope with their attitudes:

An effort must be made to get Mrs. T to *face facts* through frequent friendly, sympathetic talks in which you can indicate that even though she is not perfectly well, she can do a great deal more than she is doing; getting her to review her life before marriage and since, and her methods of meeting her problems in the past and the present. This can be done only by quiet, objective persistence on your part, not letting her revert to the injustices of her life, keeping her mind on what she *has done* and *can do* in dealing with injustices and difficulties with her husband. An appeal to her superior training and intelligence, her love for her husband and children, and her sense of justice may serve to motivate her to assume the initiative in her home. At the same time it would be excellent to get her main prop, Katharine, removed for a few months. This could not be done too abruptly or Mrs. T would lie down under it, but it might be accomplished after she has started doing more things in the home, before she slumps again. If Lawrence could go away also, she would have no assistance. A thorough psychiatric and physical examination, such as you have attempted to get, will help her a great deal but unless she *goes* to get it, it will be of little use. The biggest part of the work in a case of this type has to be done by relatives, friends, and social workers. Mr. T needs to be dealt with more intensively to get from him his own life history, his meeting and marriage to Mrs. T, her behavior in detail since he has known her (before and after marriage), his methods of dealing with her and meeting his problems in life. Since he understands her condition so well, he must realize that running away from her gives her the "whip hand" as he calls it. Either he ought to leave her entirely, securing a divorce, or else struggle along with her. If he could be patient and persistent with her, trying to get her to do things with him, such as buying clothes for the children, going to the movies, going to a cafeteria for supper some time as a change from eating at home, he might be able to divert her thoughts from her imagined illness. At the same time it would never do to let her think that he considers her really well, but let him suggest things that they both agree will not strain her heart. They would at first have to be things very near home which she really would enjoy.

In the case of an Hungarian mother at one time diagnosed dementia praecox, paranoid, whose delusions were diffuse and harmless, but whose reaction to life is negativistic and self-pitying, the following techniques were suggested:

A great deal has been accomplished during the years under your supervision and more cannot be expected with this type of mother. Mrs. P is less extravagant, no longer begs of every one who comes near her and the children are in good physical condition. With such strong family solidarity it would be unwise to try to remove the children, especially with no immorality present, in view of the strong feeling of protection for the children and fairly good physical care. Direct methods apparently fail with Mrs. P since she immediately opposes any suggestions, even though they are matters she really wants attended to. The indirect approach, leading her to bring up questions herself and then immediately acting on her suggestions, without giving her time to realize what you are doing and to oppose it, seems to be the best way to deal with her. This, of course, is not always practicable, but at least you can try it persistently. When she rants about her trouble, cannot she be diverted gradually to other subjects of interest to her? Logic is of no avail since she has little power to reason, but indirect appeal to her pride, her love for her children, her own tastes in food and furnishings, her early background and old-country customs, her sense of competition and desire to imitate her neighbors might all be drawn on as incentives to action. Can't you unearth a bit of humor within her soul and use it to divert her from her rut of doleful thought? A teasing, cajoling, laughing manner such as you would use with a child, with quick changes from one subject to another might carry her along to action. You would have to thrust quickly to the point at any opportunity and stick there, at the same time playing around on the surface with side issues. It would be well to study your methods with her by analyzing a typical interview by Mrs. Sheffield's *Outline* and then experimenting with other methods suggested here. The important thing is to realize that argument should be avoided, issues should never be made, and that it is necessary always to appear to side with her and to show her plainly that you see and sympathize with her point of view.

Of course a complete consideration and comments were written on all phases of these cases, but only the suggestions regarding the worker's technique in interviewing are quoted here to show the possibilities in this aspect of record study.

The evaluation of the situation with an unbiased mind and a disregard for the practical material limitations of the resources available is another important element which Miss Waite stresses. Such Olympian aloofness, if carried through consistently in outlining suggestions for treatment, results in an ideal goal which usually after a few preliminary mental readjustments on the part of the worker, serves to challenge her to hitherto impossible heights of achievement. New clothing springs up where only cast off garments existed before; the perfect, though expensive, foster home becomes an actuality. In other words, material aid and other resources are applied with flexibility and constructive imagination, not as a deadly, stifling routine. The end result of developing the creative spirit in the use of existing resources is to break down rigid administrative methods and also actually to create new resources by means of new needs.

These, then, are some of the possible results of careful record study: First, a change of record writing to include the psychological factors involved in interviewing. Second, the analysis and suggestion of new forms of technique to be used in treatment as well as new facts to be learned. Third, the giving of new perspective in the use of resources and creating new resources. In order to achieve these results a detailed, written critique for constant reference in the record should be made when the record is studied.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE DEGENERATIVE DISEASES: Their Causes and Prevention: Llewellys F. Barker, M.D., and Thomas P. Sprunt, M.D., Harper & Bros., New York, 1925, 254 pp.

This book belongs to the Public Health Series published by Harper and Brothers and covers a timely subject since the degenerative diseases of middle life are markedly on the increase today.

The subject is taken up in three sections: Part I, General Considerations; Part II, The Principles of Prevention and of Postponement of the Degenerative Diseases; and Part III, Special Degenerative Diseases. In the first part a general discussion of environment and heredity follows a presentation of factors which enter into the life of individual cells, their aging and their continuation on earth.

The second part is devoted to the principles of prevention or postponement of the degenerative changes that occur as we grow older. Heredity is discussed from the theoretic and practical aspects and precedes a chapter on control of environment. (In both of these fields our knowledge has far outreached our practice.) Other chapters discuss air, food, the care of digestion, bacterial poisons acquired from without, and other poisons developed within the body and give facts known and practices applied.

The last chapter of this section deals with the psychic and social factors and brings out the most complicated elements in applying our knowledge. For example, it is much easier to stoke a furnace when all the factors are under control of the fireman than to keep a man in condition through proper feeding when all his interests, preferences, emotions, and points of view affect his functioning.

The third part of the book presents a clear picture of the symptoms and pathology of the special degenerative diseases, including diseases of the arteries, the heart, the kidneys, the digestive apparatus, the nervous system, the locomotor apparatus, and the endocrine glands. In each case the disease is considered from the standpoint of cause and prevention rather than from that of treatment.

The book is a valuable contribution to the literature on medical conditions devised for the thoughtful layman. It gives a clear, scientific presentation of the elements that enter into the production of the "end-results" diseases with which he is familiar. One is impressed throughout with the complexity of the problem and the necessity of every intelligent adult's taking the responsibility for conducting his life in ways that will prevent his developing the various diseases described.

ANNA MANN RICHARDSON, M.D.

THE VISITING TEACHER MOVEMENT: J. J. Oppenheimer. Joint Committee on Methods of Preventing Delinquency. New York, 1925, 206 pp.

The question that immediately presents itself on finishing Dr. Oppenheimer's discussion of the work of a visiting teacher in all its relations is how any school system can allow itself to be without so important a member of the school staff. Medical social service has been recognized for some time as an essential division of any well-organized hospital and visiting teacher work is a fair parallel of that in the educational field. Social work, particularly those branches of it which pertain to the study and re-establishment of tottering families and individuals, has much to contribute to the successful maintenance of every human institution. Medical institutions have perhaps availed themselves of this contribution more completely than any other, unless it be the courts. Education, judging by the statistics in this study, is only beginning to sense such a possibility. One essential difference, however, is apparent between the field of visiting teacher work and that of other institutional social service, one which this study emphatically points out: that a most important task of the visiting teacher—or school counselor—is to make clear to the school principal or class room teacher the bearing her findings may have on school procedure. For this reason she must be more than a social case worker: she must be familiar with both school organization and educational requirements, and sympathetic with the school staff in her appreciation of the inexorable demands made on them by the "system." She must then be a part of the school staff and not an outsider, no matter how tactful or skilled.

It is often asked what the visiting teacher does which could not be done by school nurse or attendance officer. This is answered clearly and in detail by Dr. Oppenheimer. The important part played by the visiting teacher in coördinating the work of various welfare agencies which may be interested in individual children, or in improving the district in which a school is located, is also described. Indeed, so much ability and of such diverse kinds is required for meeting successfully the problems which must be faced by a worker in this position that one naturally questions where such an one can be found. This question also is answered here. Over sixty are now working successfully—and what woman has done woman can do—so successfully that school principals and superintendents are begging for more. Courses in preparation are offered and even a small number of scholarships furnished. The problems and duties are challeng-

ing ones to anyone interested in a full-sized and truly important job; every proof necessary of the need for this type of worker and the success of the work up to this time can be given, and yet increase of it throughout the country is disappointingly slow. Educationists are conservative folk and social workers and parents are only beginning to realize the strategic position the school holds in the prevention of social ills and in character building. Principals and classroom teachers have a potential influence as yet unmeasured in these directions, but they must be aided and supplemented by a trained person who is so free from the pressure of routine duties than she can spend time enough on one child to put him firmly on his feet, and can interpret to his home the aims of the school and to the school and to coöperating agencies the needs and weaknesses of his home.

A chain is as strong as its weakest link; the morale of a school may be altered and its pupils brought more effectively into the attitude of good citizenship if actual changes are brought about in the behavior of actual children. And these changes are effected by altered school attitudes and procedure as truly as by altered home conditions and influences.

As in any new profession, there is at present much discussion as to qualifications and standards. The standards must be kept on a high level and yet a counsel of perfection often defeats its own ends. Personality is the most important consideration, but at the same time proper weight must be given to both experience and training. The fact that such experience and training must be in two fields makes the subject a more than usually difficult one. Shall both be treated equally or one emphasized more than another and, if so, which, social case work or education? And while these two fields are being discussed, in step psychology and mental hygiene with their claims.

Dr. Oppenheimer's study helps to clarify all these issues, and also points out again the great need existing for "a worker in the school organization who has for her chief function the removal and prevention, as far as possible, of those handicaps of school children which are the result of their social environment," as well as, one might add, of their unfortunate relation to the immediate school environment. It also gives arguments for the increased appropriations which will be needed if public schools are truly to be "socialized," and gives many illustrations of the statement made by one school principal that his visiting teacher had saved her salary twice over by the amount of retardation and delinquency she had prevented.

ELEANOR HOPE JOHNSON

THE JUNIOR: Ernest Chave. University of Chicago Press, 1925, 174 pp.

This is one of a series of Publications in Religious Education. Rather contrary to expectation, it deals with concrete facts in the lives of children and recognizes the important part which development and environment must play in any scheme of religious training. This recognition makes the book stand out as a strikingly valuable contribution not only to education in the religious field but in any other.

When ideals begin to influence children and young people they are imposed upon or are the outgrowth of a body of habits and attitudes which have been slowly forming through early and middle childhood. In this period of middle childhood which Chave calls the junior years—nine, ten and eleven—early tendencies are crystallizing into habits and habits are determining attitudes. Of what avail then are exhortations to emotions and ideals which may be wholly foreign to these insistent trends and desires?

Mr. Chave uses scientific methods and psychological principles and his study will help to square religious education with the best principles and methods of education in general.

Besides this most important contribution, the book gives many hints as to the ways children in these pre-adolescent years are apt to think and to behave, and the influences which are shaping their lives and characters.

ELEANOR HOPE JOHNSON

THE SOCIAL CASE WORKER'S ATTITUDE AND PROBLEMS

(*Continued from page 181*)

demn him for not living up to her ideal of him. However shrewd the case worker is, she will frequently discover this discrepancy between her first judgment of the client and his actual capacities and will have to admit the fault as hers if she is to capitalize the experience and plan on a realistic basis for further treatment of his problem.

Since at every turn in the progress of the case the worker's personality is involved, her first responsibility is to study her own reactions and maintain a detachment that will keep her emotionally free. Not to do so is essentially irresponsible, for it means ignoring the very nature of her rôle. The objectivity the worker ought to maintain toward her cases is not a fixed state of mind but is a point of view that is maintained only by conscious effort. If the worker is willing to include herself as well as her clients as objects of her case work, her increasing self-control will be apparent not only in case work results but in the greater satisfaction she finds in meeting the problems of her job.